Faces of Feminism: An Ideographic Analysis of "Stop Telling Women to Smile"

An Honors Thesis (HONRS 499)

by

Berkley Conner

Thesis Advisor

Mary Moore

Signed

Ball State University

Muncie, Indiana

May 2015

Expected Date of Graduation

May 2015

Abstract

Artist and activist Tatyana Fazlalizadeh's "Stop Telling Women to Smile" street art campaign features wheat pasted posters depicting non-smiling women above phrases that refute gender-based street harassment. The campaign has spread throughout urban America and into Mexico as a response to, and with the support of, the online feminist community's call to end gender-based street harassment. This paper analyzes the "Stop Telling Women to Smile" campaign using an ideographic analysis, and draws critical implications regarding the lack of a smile as an ideograph and the ideograph as localized and modified for the feminist community.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Mary Moore for advising me through this project. Her endless love and passion have not only motivated me to complete this thesis, but have been paramount to my success as an undergraduate student at Ball State. She is a force of nature.

I would also like to thank Ashley Coker for presenting me with the article that inspired this thesis, Kristen McCauliff for her guidance as an instructor, Michelle Colpean for always standing in my corner, and the Ball State Speech team for fostering my growth as a feminist, rhetorical critic, and person.

Introduction

Unquestionably, "catcalling" and other forms of public, gender-based harassment lurk in city squares, around street corners, and down alleyways, day or night, as omnipresent forces that alter the way women interact with their public environments, leaving them feeling objectified and even demoralized. Beth Livingston, assistant professor of human resource studies at Cornell University, explains "verbal harassment is more pervasive than workplace harassment, but there are less policies and laws to deal with it" (Lee, 2014, para. 8). Consequently, women across the nation, have turned to blogs, public forums, and anti-harassment movements to speak out against this injustice (Lee, 2014).

Hearing the outraged cries of her fellow women, one woman has found her own way to "deal with it". Brooklyn-based artist Tatyana Fazlalizadeh has taken the streets of urban America by storm with her traveling street art campaign "Stop Telling Women to Smile" (STWTS). Disturbed by her own experiences with street harassment, Fazlalizadeh "waged an artistic war" on street harassers armed with buckets of wheat paste and posters depicting beautiful, defiant, non-smiling women fixed above phrases reclaiming their rights to their bodies in the very places these rights have been challenged: the streets (Liss-Schultz, 2013). STWTS has spread across the United States, and partnered with the ABC and Univision startup, Fusion, to make its first international venture to Mexico City in January 2015, generating participation and support from hundreds of women, and offering a unique insight and contribution to the crusade (Hernandez, 2015). Considering the global audience Fazlalizadeh's campaign has found, and the recent surge in the movement to combat gender-based street harassment, it's important to ask the question, how does the "Stop Telling Women to Smile" campaign function as an ideograph?

While Fazlalizadeh's campaign began by featuring one poster, a self-portrait of Fazlalizadeh herself, it has since expanded. Today the United States campaign and the Mexico City campaign feature a little over a dozen different posters. For the purpose of my analysis, I have selected three posters from the United States campaign. A Google image search demonstrates three of the most prominent posters of the campaign: Tatyana's self-portrait featuring the phrase "Stop Telling Women to Smile" (see *Figure 1*), the portrait of Nikki featuring the phrase "My Name is Not Baby, Shorty, Sexy, Sweetie, Honey, Pretty, Boo, Sweetheart, Ma" (see *Figure 2*), and the portrait of Stephanie featuring the phrase "Women Are Not Seeking Your Validation" (see *Figure 3*).

In this thesis, I employ an ideographic analysis to argue that the "Stop Telling Women to Smile" campaign functions as an ideograph to unite feminists in the movement to combat gender-based street harassment. I will begin by discussing the background of the campaign and Fazlalizadeh, as well as the nature of street harassment. Then I will explain my critical approach, ideological criticism, and my critical method, ideographic analysis. I will finally apply ideographic analysis to the "Stop Telling Women to Smile" campaign and draw critical implications.

Background

Artifact and Purpose

Tatyana Fazlalizadeh meets with women across the U.S. who have experienced street harassment, interviews them about their experiences, and sketches their portraits. She then displays these portraits on posters above captions that describe the women's experiences. Fazlalizadeh finally wheat pastes these posters onto buildings in public, urban areas either by herself or with the assistance of volunteers (Shearman, 2014).

For as typical as Fazlalizadeh's process may seem, the purpose of her art series has clearly caught the attention of, mostly female, local artists, professors, and students everywhere she goes. Visual artist, Jessica Caldas (as cited in Lee, 2014), argues that, thanks to STWTS, "something a lot of people take for granted as normal and acceptable is being shown for the impact it has." Indeed, the project seeks to highlight the way women's bodies in particular are seen as public property for consumption, comment, and display (Lee, 2014). Fazlalizadeh has made a bold statement about gender-based street harassment through her art, but with a twist. What is striking about STWTS is that the project places strong women back into the places where their strength has been compromised. On her website, Fazlalizadeh (n.d.) explains that "the project takes women's voices, and faces, and puts them in the street – creating a bold presence for women in an environment where they are so often made to feel uncomfortable and unsafe."

Rhetor

Tatyana Fazlalizadeh was born in Oklahoma, grew up in Philadelphia, and moved to Brooklyn where she began STWTS in 2012. She is an oil painter by trade, but her work on a mural project inspired her interest in working with public space. Before starting STWTS, Fazlalizadeh had never heard the term "street harassment", but discovered the online street harassment movement via forums like Hollaback! and StopStreetHarassment.org. On these forums she learned of women's experiences and familiarized herself with street harassment (Alvarez, 2013). Upon understanding the nuances of gender-based street harassment, Fazlalizadeh learned she identified with the women on these online forums. In an interview with *Mother Jones*, Fazlalizadeh illuminates that, as a woman of color, she has often been the victim of street harassment, which prompted her to use her self-portrait as the face of STWTS. She

explains that she grew up in black neighborhoods her whole life where she was publicly harassed by mostly black men, thus she wanted to put her specific experience and perspective on street harassment out in public (Liss-Schultz, 2013).

Yet, Fazlalizadeh has accomplished much beyond adding her voice to the fight against gender-based street harassment. Today, she does street and gallery art addressing topics such as the Arab Spring. Her work has been shown in New York, D.C., Washington, Philadelphia, and Detroit, and in 2015 Fazlalizadeh was named one of *Forbes*' "30 Under 30" for art and style ("2015 30 Under 30", 2015).

Context

The force of gender-based street harassment is an intimidating one to combat. In the U.S. in 2014, of 2,000 people surveyed, 65% of women had experienced street harassment and 25% of men, most of them being LGBT-identified, had experienced street harassment (*Statistics*, 2015). While women can publicly harass men, because of the power dynamics at play, the negative effects of street harassment on women far outweigh the negative effects of street harassment on men. Indeed, at the core of street harassment exists a power dynamic that reminds historically subordinated groups of their vulnerability in public areas (*What is Street Harassment*, 2015). For women, the effects of street harassment can include avoiding eye contact, altering dress and behavior, never traveling alone, moving neighborhoods, and changing jobs (*Stopping Street Harassment*, 2015). In the fall of 2013, a Kickstarter campaign raised $34,000 to help Fazlalizadeh expand STWTS from Brooklyn to across the U.S. as a way to address street harassment on a national level (Lee, 2014).

Internationally, 70 – 99% of women experience street harassment sometime in their lives (*Research*, 2015). So, while STWTS has spread to cities all over the U.S., in 2015 the project

made its first international appearance in Mexico City, an area known for high rates of sexual assault (Brooks, 2015). The issue of gender-based street harassment does not exist in a vacuum. Rather, street harassers target the entire spectrum of race, class, and nationality (*Myths*, 2015). As such, the project addresses intersectionality by featuring women of all backgrounds, but primarily women of color (Brooks, 2013). Placing women of color at the front of a feminist campaign is particularly significant considering the feminist movement itself repeatedly excludes these women, choosing to focus its attention, most often, on the white, middle-class (Vagianos, 2015). Fazlalizadeh tells the *Daily Beast* that she wanted to insert images of women of color to allow their experiences and voices to be heard in a feminist conversation; she argues that, because black women are often hypersexualized, this affects the way they interact in public areas with men of all colors (Alvarez, 2013).

Occasion and Audience

Fazlalizadeh began pasting her posters in Brooklyn in 2012 (Grinberg, 2014). Since then the posters have made appearances in New York City, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Boston, Newark, New Orleans, Washington D.C., Chicago, Portland, and Seattle. The posters are featured in various sizes and quantities. In some places one might see a single, giant poster adorn a wall, and in others entire walls may be covered with multiple, smaller posters. The project is purposefully public – targeting both offenders and victims of gender-based street harassment. Fazlalizadeh tells *Mother Jones* that street aspect of her project is important because "men and women can walk by and feel something about it because it exists in the environment where the harassment actually occurs." In this way, she claims, "it is more powerful than a painting in a gallery" because in a public environment the art has the potential to foster change (Liss-Schultz, 2013, para. 13). In order to ensure STWTS remains a public effort that generates discussion

about street harassment, Fazlalizadeh works with community-based nonprofits and advocacy groups to speak with people about street harassment and get permission to hang her art on certain buildings (Grinberg, 2014). As the art is public, of course there have been consequences. Many of the posters have been defaced and written on, but Fazlalizadeh does not see this as a bad thing. One poster in particular hosted a debate about telling women to smile and featured ten different hand-writings (Shearman, 2014). In an interview with CNN, Fazlalizadeh notes, "[Defacement] is great because that's what the project aims to do: inspire discussion and hopefully collaboration among the sexes" (Grinberg, 2014).

Method

Ideological Criticism

For my analysis, ideological criticism will be employed as the critical approach, with ideographic analysis as the critical method. Foss (2009) defines ideology as "a pattern of beliefs that determines a group's interpretations of some aspect of the world" (p. 209). Ideologies are comprised of evaluative beliefs, or beliefs about which there are alternative judgments. Ideologies can be found within sets of beliefs regarding certain issues, such as abortion, and are reflective of a group's fundamental interests (Foss, 2009). Foss explains that in performing an ideological analysis, a critic should look beyond the surface of an artifact to discover the beliefs, values, and assumptions it suggests.

Foss (2009) notes that ideological criticism recognizes no real principal scholar, rather it has been informed by various other perspectives (p. 211). Other scholars have analyzed ideological criticism's similarities and differences to those perspectives that inform ideological criticism. Griffin (1995) asserts that, "while ideological criticism is similar to feminist criticism in that they both focus on power structures, ideological criticism differs in that it moves past

gender to uncover other political viewpoints, power structures, and material consequences of these power structures" (p. 172).

It is accepted that multiple ideologies exist in any one culture, but some ideologies are privileged more than others, and thus, the underprivileged ideologies are inhibited. Foss (2009) explains that the privileging of one ideology over another is called hegemony. Hegemony fosters social control. The ideologies of the dominant group will prevail over the ideologies of groups with less power, thus determining the dominant ideologies of a culture. Hegemonic ideologies will persist as long as they are enforced and protected via rhetoric. Resistance to a hegemonic ideology proves difficult because this "resistance is often built into the hegemonic ideology, rendering resistance futile or even supportive" (p. 210). Other scholars have demonstrated how hegemonic ideologies can be pervasive. Leonardi and Oliha (2008) utilize ideological criticism and apply it to *The Game of Life* to demonstrate that, although the dominant ideologies of the game, capitalism and freedom of choice, appear obvious, the ways in which they are constructed and reinforced are very subtle such that they have the potential to influence young players and instill Western values in American children.

Foss (2009) explains the procedural approach to ideological criticism, arguing that any type of artifact can be used in performing an ideological criticism because "ideologies exist everywhere" (p. 214). To analyze the artifact, Foss outlines four strategies. First, a critic must "identify the presented elements by examining signs that point to ideological tenets in the artifact" (p. 214). Second, a critic must "identify the suggested elements and identify their meanings that will serve as the basis for the ideology" (p. 216). Suggested elements are those ideas that are implied by the presented elements. Next, a critic must "formulate an ideology by grouping elements together and parsing out major themes related to membership, values, norms,

or authority" (p. 217). Finally, a critic will "identify functions served by the ideology; he or she will determine how the ideology functions for the audience and how this ideology affects real life" (p. 220).

While any artifact can be used in performing ideological criticism, the approach is often used to analyze public and street art such as the STWTS campaign. Cozen (2013) examines the Canary Project's *Green Patriot Posters* campaign to understand how visual meaning is constructed via ideological views and perspectives. The *Green Patriot Posters* project's mission is to visualize global warming and sustainability efforts and does so by combining activism with art inspired by WWII posters. Cozen argues that metaphors reflective of the activists' artistic responses are present among the posters, and so the posters are "made to mean", thus orienting viewers to particular ecological issues (p. 299). Similarly, Visconti, Sherry Jr., Borghini, and Anderson (2010) discuss that street art is at the forefront of the negotiation of public space because it highlights how one person's agentic control over a public space affects the way another person experiences that space. Because street artists have this agentic control, they act as both artists and ideologists, creating an "aesthetic commons that invites belonging and participation" (p. 522). Essentially, street artists assume a level of responsibility in that their street art alters a public environment, but, in making their art public, they also become vulnerable as their ideologies are subject to public opinion. Finally, Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki (2005) analyze the public art of the Buffalo Bill Museum to argue that the museum privileges images of Whiteness and masculinity that "carnivalize" the Anglo-American – Native American conflict (p. 87). Based on the artifacts and rhetoric of the museum, Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki assert that indigenous people are framed as a challenge, that violence is minimized to playfulness, and that

frontier life is depicted as wholesome – promoting the ideology of Manifest Destiny and retelling the story of colonization in a way that alters our national identity in a positive way.

Ideological criticism is also used to analyze those who challenge the portrayals of women in the public sphere, the crux of the STWTS campaign. Grisso (2003) uses ideological criticism to analyze the Guerilla Girls' poster for the satirical movie "The Birth of Feminism". Grisso explains that the movie poster employs parody and incongruity to mock the prevailing social structure: the objectifying portrayal of women in the film industry. Grisso argues that the Guerilla Girls' strategy allows audiences to see the reality of the situation, and thus have a heightened awareness of it, effectively giving the Guerilla Girls the ability to engender social change. Additionally, Sain and Drumheller (2007) use ideological criticism to examine female hip hop artists' music videos and uncover ideologies that exist within them to reveal their female identity. They argue the women in the videos use sexuality and money to challenge typical pop culture images of women by dominating men in a sphere that has largely been controlled by men. By focusing on the cultural studies aspect of ideological criticism, Sain and Drumheller highlight the oppression of culture or subculture and the available forces of liberation for these subcultures.

Ideographic Analysis

Foss (2009) notes several authors who have contributed to the development of ideological criticism. The foremost contributor is Michael Calvin McGee who created the notion of the ideograph. According to McGee (1980), an ideograph functions as a term of political consciousness – it is a one-term sum of an orientation, and a political commitment. McGee asserts that ideographs are culturally bound and serve as the link between ideology and rhetoric such that they explain the power of the dominant power structure and the consciousness of the

people. McGee asserts that to understand a culture's ideology one must isolate the ideographs, expose the structure of each, and then characterize the relationships of the ideographs in a particular context.

Many scholars have lent their voices to the development of the concept of the ideograph. Palczewski (2005) furthers McGee's notion of the ideograph by asserting that ideographs can be used as an agency of social control, as they are infused with an "intrinsic force" (p. 373). Lucaites and Condit (1990) add to McGee's ideograph as well, and argue that the ideograph can be modified by examining the way Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X used <equality> differently, but as representative of the same larger ideology: achieving legitimacy for African Americans' struggle for civil rights. While Malcom X dismissed the American version of <equality> in favor of embracing <equality> as "power dependent on the separation of the races as autonomous communities, MLK embraced the American version of <equality>, "empowering his audience to enact its meaning" (pp. 10 – 17). These differences, however, gave rise to the "black vision" that paved the way for the civil rights movements (Lucaites & Condit, 1990, p. 20). Cloud (1998) also takes McGee's notion of the ideograph a step further to examine how an ideograph, when used by many different people, can construct a "privatized set of identifications and commitments" (p. 391). Cloud analyzes the <family values> ideograph, used during the 1992 presidential campaign to scapegoat poor Americans and Black men for social problems. She argues the ideograph is agent-centered: the <family> half "privatizes discourses that exhort personal responsibility in the face of economic or social crisis", while the <values> half "invokes a utopian solution…balancing scapegoating with the image of communities pulling together for change" (pp. 391 – 392). Ultimately, <family values> operates as a gendered code that places the

family in the center of responsibility for change, and privatizes an idealist approach to social change (Cloud, 1998, p. 392).

Perhaps Bennett-Carpenter (2009) alters McGee's ideograph the most. He argues that, while McGee believes ideographs are representative of a group on a macro level, ideographs can also function on a micro level as localized ideographs. McGee's ideograph, Bennett-Carpenter stresses, can be adjusted to include culture and serve a niche group (p. 2). These specialized or localized ideographs operate in any identifiable niche, particularly within a group of people "that [is] identifiable with a given label or operates within a particular context, but then have varying identities, agendas, and specific practices in relation to their given label or context" (pp. 10 – 11).

Ideographs also function visually. Palczewski (2005) uses an ideographic analysis to examine anti-women suffrage postcards from the early 1900s. In doing so she asserts that images may be visual forms of arguments – that there is an "intersection between visual icons and verbal ideographs, particularly as they relate to our understandings of sex/gender" (p. 373). She furthers her argument to explain that "images present one location in which to assess the public vocabulary" (p. 373). Additionally, Edwards and Winkler (1997) use an ideographic analysis to analyze the Iwo Jima photograph as parodied in editorial cartoons. Edwards and Winkler argue that "the flexibility of interpretation" of Joe Rosenthal's photograph when it is appropriated as various cartoons "attests to the image's visual power" (p. 291). When the Iwo Jima photograph is appropriated for editorial cartoons, it takes on what Edwards and Winkler coin as a "representative form" because it "functions symbolically to represent subjects and events that expand beyond the historical constraints of the original battle at Iwo Jima" (p. 292). Thus, Edwards and Winkler conclude that, because this particular image has been able to transcend its

historical constraints by being parodied, it serves as an ideograph that affects "both the nation's leadership and its citizenry" (p. 305).

Ideological criticism has previously been used to analyze street and public art, as well as those who challenge popular media's portrayal of women in the public sphere, and it has been demonstrated that ideographic analysis is not only integral to understanding ideology, but can offer unique insight when analyzing visual forms of rhetoric. Thus, ideographic analysis makes for a great framework to analyze STWTS because it allows us to understand how the campaign rhetorically functions as a visual ideograph and what ideology the campaign propagates.

Analysis

In order to perform an ideographic analysis of STWTS, it is important to establish the legitimacy of the ideograph within the campaign. While the art series is entitled "Stop Telling Women to Smile," only one poster, the self-portrait of Fazlalizadeh, features that specific phrase. The rest of the posters highlight other transgressions against women related to gender-based street harassment: commenting on clothing, and name-calling, for example. The campaign includes many different posters that detail various women's experiences with street harassment. However, what the posters do have in common is that they each feature an image of a woman – and in the case of this analysis, a woman of color – not smiling (see Appendix A). It is hard to argue that the posters feature any other facial expression. It is not for certain whether these women are frowning or scowling; expressions that would indicate sadness or anger. What is clear, however, is that these women are not smiling – an indicator of happiness or contentment is missing. I argue that the lack of a smile throughout the series serves as an ideograph for the feminist community.

Lack of a Smile as Representative of Ideology

McGee (1980) asserts that an ideograph serves as a one-term sum of an orientation – it is representative of a larger ideology in such a way that it highlights the dominant power structure and consciousness of the people. Understandably, the feminist community is tricky to define. Some women who support and hold feminist values do not identify as feminist, and some of those who identify as feminist hold different values than other feminists. For the purpose of this analysis, I define the feminist community as the group of activists who are active online and in public and have learned of and support STWTS either online or in public. To the feminist community, the lack of a smile throughout the STWTS campaign is representative of combatting street harassment. The posters never explicitly refer to street harassment. Rather, the poster featuring Nikki defies being called by "pet names" in public, the poster featuring Stephanie resists strangers' attempts to validate women in public, and the poster featuring Fazlalizadeh challenges the act of telling women to smile – all specific forms of gender-based street harassment. Even without an explicit reference to street harassment, feminists who see the posters, especially those who have seen the posters before, understand that the non-smiling faces of the women featured on them represent the feminist community's battle to end street harassment.

Additionally, the non-smiling women clearly illustrate the power dynamics of street harassment. As previously mentioned, the power dynamics at play regarding gender-based street harassment suggest that the negative effects of the act on women far outweigh the negative effects of the act on men (*What is Street Harassment*, 2015). Because only non-smiling women are featured on posters that fight against gender-based street harassment, women are denoted as with less power on the streets, and men are denoted as those with more power. The lack of a smile, then, points to Fazlalizadeh's, and the feminist community's, consciousness of women's

lesser status, by placing non-complacent women at the forefront of the fight to end street harassment, and calling out the men who are street harassment offenders.

Lack of a Smile as a Localized Ideograph

The lack of a smile ideograph lends itself most to Bennett-Carpenter's (2009) interpretation of McGee's ideograph. Bennett-Carpenter argues that ideographs can function on a micro level, or within a group of people that functions within a particular context. Despite any differences the individual members of the group may have, their identification with each other stems from a similar ideology or value system. The lack of a smile that exists throughout the STWTS art series is a localized, or specialized, ideograph because it functions within the feminist community. While the feminist community is known for differences of opinion among its members, the community is drawn together by the overarching ideology of gender equality. Thus, the problem of gender-based street harassment is of particular importance to the feminist community, and feminism is undoubtedly at the heart of STWTS. As Fazlalizadeh mentions, STWTS features mostly women of color because she wanted to give these women a voice in the feminist conversation about street harassment (Alvarez, 2013). LaFrance (2013) explains that smiles are used as tyrannical tools against women. Women are often expected to retain smiling faces because a smiling face is seen as warm, inviting, and feminine. To a society rooted in patriarchy, a non-smiling woman does not fit the mold of femininity. Thus, smiling puts women in a double-bind: if a woman smiles all the time she is assumed to always be inviting, sweet, and warm, and may not be taken seriously professionally or socially; if a woman doesn't smile enough, she is classified as cold or standoffish, also affecting her negatively professionally and socially. To the feminist community, a non-smiling woman is lauded as a figure of resistance.

Therefore, feminists note the lack of a smile on the faces of women featured in STWTS and understand that the women are the faces of resistance against gender-based street harassment.

Lack of a Smile as a Visual Ideograph

Palczewski (2005) argues that visual ideographs are important because they act as agents of social control by creating an argument within an image, driving social change, and providing a location in which to access the vocabulary of the argument. The lack of a smile throughout the art series serves as this visual argument because, when coupled with the phrases at the bottom of the posters, it provides the viewer with a clear understanding of the way Fazlalizadeh and these women feel about their experiences with gender-based street harassment: they are not happy. This argument is further exemplified when examining the technical intricacies of Fazlalizadeh's posters. The posters are not glamourous, high quality, and glossy. They are pencil sketches that are messily wheat-pasted onto the sides of often run-down city buildings (see *Figure 4*). In this light, it can be understood that the campaign does not seek to beautify or sugar-coat the issue of gender-based street harassment. Rather, it seeks to reveal street harassment and these women for what and who they are: serious and real. The images of the women on the posters, while different, maintain the similar feature of the lack of a smile, which is the locus for the ideology of the campaign: to fight gender-based street harassment. Further, the feminist community in particular is driven to enact social change by this visual ideograph. This is evidenced by the handwriting debates that take place on the posters, and by the crowds of students, professors, and artists who show up to assist Fazlalizadeh with her wheat pastings as she travels across the nation and across the border (Shearman, 2014).

Lack of a Smile Ideograph Modified

Lucaites and Condit (1990) examined the different ways Malcolm X and MLK Jr. modified and used the ideograph <equality> to lend their voices to a similar ideology: legitimizing the African American struggle for civil rights. Only Fazlalizadeh utilizes the ideograph of the lack of a smile in the context of the STWTS campaign. However, she has still been able to modify the ideograph of a lack of a smile to represent a new ideology: the fight against street harassment. LaFrance (2013) explains that, socially, women smile more than men, and we code smiles as indicators of happiness, contentment, warmness, and overall pleasantness. One explanation for this disparity between the sexes when it comes to smiling is the dominance-status hypothesis, which argues that women smile more because they are "socially weaker – they must wear compliance on their faces" (Waldman, 2013). Thus, when we see a woman's face in a mass media advertising campaign, it is for the benefit of everybody except women; her face appears for the pleasure of the viewer, or for the promotion of products or ideas. But Tatyana Fazlalizadeh's campaign put the faces of women in public spaces for women, presenting a new portrayal of women in public spaces. Fazlalizadeh's self-portrait poster serves as the face of the STWTS campaign in the online community. It was the first, and for some time the only, poster to be featured, and any Google search of the campaign will plaster the poster all over the screen. Not to mention, the phrase featured in Fazlalizadeh's self-portrait poster is the namesake of the entire campaign. But, as the project has expanded to include more stories, the ever-growing army of women subjects of STWTS have become, for all intents and purposes, the contradiction to the women seen in traditional advertising campaigns. The faces of these women serve to validate women's experiences with gender-based street harassment by promoting solidarity. By situating these non-smiling women above phrases that defy gender-based street harassment, Tatyana

Fazlalizadeh has modified the ideograph of a woman's face, creating an empowering new ideograph from the ashes of a systemically oppressive one.

Conclusion

By understanding how the lack of a smile serves as an ideograph for the feminist community, it can be argued that perhaps an ideograph can really be no ideograph at all – or at least an ideograph can arise out of the absence of an ideograph. Culturally, the symbolism of a smile works to construct a patriarchal ideology; one that views women as submissive and always pleasant. Feminists are particularly aware of how this symbol works to support this ideology. However, as I have demonstrated, when that smile disappears in the STWTS campaign – not into a frown, grimace, or scowl, but into an expressionless face – the feminist community is still able to derive a meaning from it that bolsters a very different ideology. Again, it is important to stress that the expressions on the faces of the women featured in STWTS cannot necessarily be determined. The only thing that is known for sure is that Fazlalizadeh depicted them as unsmiling. The ideology as constructed by the lack of a smile ideograph is one of resistance to street harassment and the patriarchy. Thus, the absence of an ideograph that has socio-historically been oppressive to the feminist community can serve as an ideograph that functions to propagate the feminist community's worldview regarding the intersection between a woman's right to her body and gender-based street harassment.

It should be noted that STWTS has a lot more to offer society rhetorically outside of what this analysis presents. Fazlalizadeh purposefully uses women of color and their experiences with gender-based street harassment as the subjects of STWTS. Thus, future research should address the intersectionality between race, gender, and the effect Fazlalizadeh's campaign has on the feminist community as well as society at large.

Overall, the STWTS campaign seems to be successful in uniting feminists to combat street harassment. Rhetorically, the art series transcends the dangers of gender-based street harassment and gives women the courage to claim a defiant attitude and reclaim their bodies. In this essay, I argued that the STWTS campaign functions as an ideograph to unite feminists in the movement to combat gender-based street harassment. I have discussed STWTS, Fazlalizadeh, and the nature of street harassment, explained ideological criticism and ideographic analysis, before finally applying ideographic analysis to STWTS and drawing critical implications. As Tatyana Fazlalizadeh continues to expand STWTS, the feminist community's hope is that gender-based street harassment will cease. Until then, the women of Fazlalizadeh's campaign will continue to ornament city streets with their bold, striking faces – daring anyone to tell them to smile.

References

Alvarez, A. C. (2013, August 1). Hey stranger, stop telling me to smile. *The Daily Beast*. Retrieved from http://www.thedailybeast.com/witw/articles/2013/08/01/tatyana-fazlalizadeh-s-street-art-project-stop-telling-women-to-smile.html

Bennett-Carpenter, B. (2009). *The ideograph revisited: Political, cultural, specialized.* Paper presented at the National Communication Association.

Brooks, K. (2013, September 6). Public art project addresses gender-based street harassment in a big way. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/09/06/stop-telling-women-to-smile_n_3876041.html

Brooks, K. (2015, February 2). How one artist is challenging the harsh reality of street harassment in Mexico City. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/02/12/stop-telling-women-to-smile-mexico-city_n_6663280.html

Cozen, B. (2013). Mobilizing artists: Green patriot posters, visual metaphors, and climate change activism. *Environmental Communication*, *7*(2), 297-314. doi:10.1080/17524032.2013.777353

Cloud, D. L. (1998). The rhetoric of <family values>: Scapegoating, Utopia, and the privatization of social responsibility. *Western Journal of Communication*, *62*(4), 387-419.

Dickinson, G., Ott, B. L., & Aoki, E. (2005). Memory and myth at the Buffalo Bill Museum. *Western Journal of Communication*, *69*(2), 85-108. doi:10.1080/10570310500076684

Edwards, J. L., & Winkler, C. K. (1997). Representative form and the visual ideograph: The Iwo Jima image in editorial cartoons. *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 83*(3), 289-310.

Fazlalizadeh, T. (n.d.). *Stop telling women to smile*. Retrieved from http://www.tlynnfaz.com/Stop-Telling-Women-to-Smile

Foss, S. K. (2009). *Rhetorical criticism: Exploration and practice* (4th ed.). Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Griffin, C. L. (1995). Teaching rhetorical criticism with Thelma and Louise. *Communication Education, 44*(2), 165-176.

Grisso, A. (2003). *An Ideological Analysis of the Guerilla Girls™ Satirical Poster of a Movie Parody Entitled: "The Birth of Feminism"*. Paper presented at the International Communication Association, San Diego, CA.

Grinberg, E. (2014, April 8). Street art project wants you to 'stop telling women to smile'. *CNN U.S.* Retrieved from http://www.cnn.com/2014/04/06/living/street-harassment-art/

Hernandez, Rigoberto (2015, February 10). 'Stop telling women to smile': Denouncing 'jackals' and catcalling in Mexico. *NPR*. Retrieved from http://www.npr.org/blogs/codeswitch/2015/02/10/384994475/stop-telling-women-to-smile-denouncing-jackals-and-catcalling-in-mexico

LaFrance, M. (2013). *Why Smile: The science behind facial expressions*. New York, NY: W W Norton & Company.

Lee, F. R. (2014, April 9). An artist demands civility on the street with grit and buckets of paste. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/10/arts/design/tatyana-fazlalizadeh-takes-her-public-art-project-to-georgia.html?_r=0

Leonardi, M., & Oliha, H. (2008). *Playing to win: The rhetoric of Life*. Paper presented at the National Communication Association, San Diego, CA.

Liss-Schultz, N. (2013, November 27). Meet the woman who waged an artistic war against her street harassers. *Mother Jones*. Retrieved from http://www.motherjones.com/media/2013/11/tatyana-fazlalizadeh-artist-street-harassment-stop-telling-women-smile

Lucaites, J. L., & Condit, C. M. (1990). Reconstructing <equality>: Culturetypal and counter-cultural rhetorics in the martyred black vision. *Communication Monographs*, *57*(1), 5-24.

McGee, M. C. (1980). The "ideograph": A link between rhetoric and ideology. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, *66*(1), 1-16.

Myths. (2015). Retrieved from http://www.ihollaback.org/resources/myths/

Palczewski, C. H. (2005). The male Madonna and the feminine Uncle Sam: Visual argument, icons, and ideographs in 1909 anti-woman suffrage postcards. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, *91*(4), 365-394. doi:10.1080/00335630500488325

Research. (2015). Retrieved from http://www.ihollaback.org/research/

Sain, M., & Drumheller, K. (2007). "*Where my girls at?": Image of female hip hop artists and the promotion of female identity*. Paper presented at the National Communication Association.

Shearman, S. (2014, February 24). Stop telling women to 'smile': New York street art says it how it is. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/10653324/Stop-telling-women-to-smile-New-York-street-art-says-it-how-it-is.html

Statistics. (2015). Retrieved from http://www.stopstreetharassment.org/resources/statistics/

Visconti, L. M., Sherry Jr., J. F., Borghini, S., & Anderson, L. (2010). Street art, sweet art? Reclaiming the "public" in public place. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *37*(3), 511-529.

Vagianos, A. (2015, March 23). Gloria Steinem says black women 'invented the feminist movement. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/03/23/gloria-steinem-black-women-invented-feminist-movement_n_6922952.html

Waldman, K. (2013, June 18). The tyranny of the smile. *Slate*. Retrieved from http://www.slate.com/articles/double_x/doublex/2013/06/bitchy_resting_face_and_female_niceness_why_do_women_have_to_smile_more.html

What is street harassment? (2015) Retrieved from http://www.stopstreetharassment.org/about/what-is-street-harassment/

Why stopping street harassment matters. (2015). Retrieved from http://www.stopstreetharassment.org/about/what-is-street-harassment/why-stopping-street-harassment-matters/

2015 30 under 30: Art & style (2015). *Forbes*. Retrieved from http://www.forbes.com/pictures/mkl45ehmdj/tatyana-fazlalizadeh-29/

Appendix A

Figure 1. Poster of Tatyana Fazlalizadeh

Figure 2. Poster of Nikki.

Figure 3. Poster of Stephanie.

Figure 4. STWTS poster on a building.